VI14
[178] demands to which the tenets of customary law have also been having to adapt themselves.

In 1884 I turned to the officials of the uyezd administration with the request for a collection of cusomary laws. But the material they sent, collected by illiterate translators, was of no value.

121 In January 1886 I made the acquaintance of A. N. Vyshnegorskii, who was a graduate of the Historical Philosophical Institute. While in service in Central Asia he had learned the Kazakh, Sart and Persian languages. At once it came to my mind to invite him to collect on the spot, in the actual nomadic camps and winter camps of the Kazakhs, by means of interroagation and transcription of the words of the biis and other well-informed persons.

In order to begin action, I turned to the well-known specialist in Central Asia, V. P. Nalivkin, requesting him to draw up a program for the collection of the tenets of Kazakh customary law. Mr. Nalivkin complied with my request, and in the beginning of 1886 Mr. Vyshne-
124 gorskii was sent into the area. He was told, among other things, to write down all the variants of the customary laws according to localities, and the names of his informants, and not to neglect any evidence, no matter how unimportant it seemed. Mr. Vyshnegorskii spent seven months among the nomads and collected so much material that it took about a year to analyze it. In addition there were dealings with the areas
• 128 to fill in gaps or to explain places which were unclear. On various cases judgments were taken from the biis' books for illustration of the material collected.

In this manner the present tome was compiled, comprising a code of the modern juridical customs of the Kazakhs of the Syr-Darya region.

In addition to the material of purely juridical character, historical narratives were collected from copies of ancient manuscripts preserved by literate Kazakhs, as well as heroic poems, superstitions, fables, riddles, charms and others. There is probably enough of this material for two more volumes. In view of this /vi/ the plan for the entire edition has been considerably expanded and been given a more general title: the Kazakhs and Kirgiz of the Syr-Darya region.

115 In the collection of the customary laws the most valuable data were furnished by the following: 1) E. A. Aleksandrov, assistant to the chief of the Kazalinsk uyezd, by birth a Siberian Kazakh from the Kokchetav mountains, who has a good knowledge of the Kazakh language and is acquainted with the everyday life of the Kazakhs.

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latter, like that of the Volga Kalmuks, did not compare with the power of the Dzungars, nevertheless the lands which the Kazaks had seized belonged to them, and consequently they wished to give no peace to the people who had taken the lands from them. Expeditions for revenge and constant raids were planned for the future and began from this moment. The Cossacks of the Ural, new neighbors of the Kazaks, promised to do the same. It was necessary to seek a defender against so many enemies; it was necessary to ask help from Russia. Perhaps this thought had often come to the minds of the sultans and the wisest elders, but it was difficult not only to put it into execution, but also to propose it to the people. Although we find in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs a detailed account of the articles proposed orally in 1726 by Kaibakar, deputy of the Kazaks, who [154] came to ask the protection of Russia for the Little Horde, in the name of the elders Sugur, Iedikbai, Khadjibai, Tiak-Kulybai, and others, nevertheless this communication had no decisive sequel. Judging by the names of the elders who sent Kaibakar, one is forced to think that they were too weak and inconspicuous to win the people over to them, and their mission remained unsuccessful. It is not known what suddenly led them to take this step, but one can be sure that most of the Kazaks were displeased by it. They preferred their barbarous freedom to any kind of order and to dependence upon laws, nor had they forgotten that the tenets of their religion commanded them to regard the Russians as infidels.

These two obstacles seemed to make the free union of the Kazak hordes with a Christian empire impossible. But unfortunate circumstances, endless dissensions, bloodshed, and the clever mind of Khan Abulkhair changed the inclinations of the people to the point where, after a feeble resistance, he decided to carry out a measure, based on the individual views of a single man, to which he could not have been moved by love of the public weal. I speak here of the voluntary submission of the Kazaks to Empress Anna, an event which took place in 1730, as we shall see below.

Before coming to the description of this revolution, which is so important, we should note here that it forms the line of

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128 demarcation dividing the history of the Kazaks into two parts.

The union of the Middle Horde and the Little Horde to
175 Russia brought them closer to us, but it did not give us the means
128 of following the successive march of events which took place in
114 the Great Horde, which remained independent. For this reason our historical information on its situation in the 18th century is far more imperfect than that which we possess on the Kazaks who were Russian subjects. This makes it necessary for us to divide [155] into two parts the period from 1730 to our times. In the first part we will examine the history of the Great Horde, while in the second there will be an account of the events which took place in the Middle Horde and the Little Horde.

Chapter IV. A Look at the History of the Great Horde from 1730 until our Times.

x648 Having said that the Kazak Great Horde did not participate at all in the voluntary submission of the two other hordes to Russia, we must first clarify a fact which could be imputed to us as a contradiction.

It is seen in the archives as well as in Rychkov's history of Orenburg that Sultan Erali, who traveled to St. Petersburg to submit in person for his father Abulkhair to the Empress Anna, was accompanied by "deputies of the Great Horde, who came to give the same assurances of submission, and this horde, like the other two, received a letter patent for its acceptance among Russian subjects on July 10, 1734."

If there were no fabrication in this matter, it alone would suffice, no doubt, to refute our statement. But a thorough investigation of the events of this period proves the contrary to be the case.

x648 The Kazaks Aralbai and Arasgeldy-Batyr, who accom-
662 panied Sultan Erali to St. Petersburg, did indeed belong to the Great Horde, but they were neither its deputies nor its representatives. Instead they were only the partisans or mercenaries of Khan Abulkhair, who [156] wished, by attributing to himself

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101 619 Thus in the Kirghiz-Kazak (Kaisak) people as a whole one can distinguish the following main and fundamental Turkic tribes: the Kangly and the Dulat (the river Chu) in the Great (Elder) Horde; the Kipchak, Argyn, Naiman, and Kirei in the Middle Horde, and the Alchin in the Little Horde.

/201/ 101 619 142 144 The physical type of these tribes can be considered characteristic of the Turks of our region, but it would be impossible to bring all the Kirghiz-Kazak tribes in the region together under this type. It is evident from the clans and tribes listed above (among whom some are descended from Mongols or the Usun' and other ancient peoples) what a complex and colorful conglomeration the Kirghiz-Kazak are, and consequently it is unthinkable to speak of them as a whole in the ethnological and physical anthropological senses. The unity here is more political, based on the relatedness of language, customs, and beliefs, and is involuntarily created by the steppe -- that arena of life of all the nomadic peoples. The steppe has not only united all the Kirghiz-Kazak tribes, but has also had a leveling influence, giving all the varied tribes a more or less uniform character. /Illustration appears here./

•128 141 In the description below of the physical type of the Kirghiz-Kazak, the statistics given for the specific tribes simply cannot be generalized for all the Kirghiz-Kazak in the region.

141 The stature of the native Turks is considered to be higher than average. The figures for the individual nationalities are as follows (from Kharuzin). For the Kirghiz /Kazak/ of the Bukey Horde it is 1,629 millimeters, and for the Little Horde 1,669 millimeters. For the Kirghiz /Kazak/ of the Middle Horde it is 1,647 millimeters, within which the clan of the Murun has a height of 1,611 millimeters, the Naiman 1,626 millimeters, the Baydjigit 1,643 millimeters, and the Kirei 1,685 millimeters. Thus, along with heights above average (1,650-1,700 mm.) there are tribes with heights below average (1,600-1,650 mm.). The average height of the Kirghiz-Kazak is deduced to be 1,646.5 millimeters. The head measurement of the Kirghiz /Kazak/

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533 the opposite impression. In general, it is predominantly drawn-
[594] out and mournful. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ value the ability to sing and the "olengchi" (singers) live well, being invited as honored guests to every family and community festival and given
534 generous gifts for the pleasure they provide. Usually the performance of a song is accompanied by the playing of an instrument. Instruments that are widespread are the domra -- a kind of triangular balalaika with three strings (of sheep gut) -- and the

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At the fair in Temir. (From a photograph by A. N. Chagin.)

534 kobza /illustration appears here/ -- an oval balalaika with a prop at the bottom (like a violoncello), which is played with a bow. Of the wind instruments one can mention the zurna, which is a long wooden horn.

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286 Pictorial art also exists among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, being expressed in the coloring of figures and designs on the doors of yurts, vessels, saddles, etc., as well as in the weaving of various patterned woolen articles. This art is still on a low level of development.

• 128 We shall turn now to a more detailed description, first of the interior and then of the exterior everyday life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/.

Appendix A

PROBLEMS AND METHODS OF RESEARCH[1]

The Bureau of Social Science Research, in agreeing to compose a background report on the Kazakhs for the Human Resources Research Office, regarded the report as a pilot study. The participants in the project had no guidelines other than broadly conceived research techniques such as are generally used in Soviet studies. The application of the results to the purposes of psychological warfare was in fact worked out in the course of the study. The Kazakhs presented additional difficulties because less is known in the United States about them than about, say, the Ukrainians, the Great-Russians, or other nationalities of the European parts of the Soviet Union. An interdisciplinary team was put together to meet these problems.

The primary function of the study was to provide a rounded picture of the Kazakhs and of the changes they were undergoing under the Soviets. Since these people live in an area ordinarily inaccessible, problems in information gathering had to be solved, as well as the more usual problems concerning interpretation and evaluation of data. The source materials to be drawn upon were scattered and had never previously been surveyed. The problem of sources will be described in the last part of this methodological survey, for it is a matter closely connected to the nature of the report and bears upon its value.

It is generally agreed that Soviet information may be used to compose a picture of life in the Soviet Union. Where Soviet information is not propaganda it is as reliable as similar information anywhere else, and where it is propaganda it is readily identifiable as such. The quantitative information is not as complete as it might be, but there is enough of it to permit evaluation and cross-checking.

The present statement on methods concerns itself with two problems: one, the contributions of various disciplines and their integration into a meaningful picture of Kazakh life; and the other, the sources of information, their scope and content.

DEMOGRAPHY

Attention had been drawn to the Kazakhs because of a striking demographic fact about them: They had suffered a severe population loss between 1926 and 1939. The techniques of demographic analysis would have been applied to them in any case but only as a secondary line of inquiry. In the Kazakh research, however, demography came to have a central place. This study had as its target the demarcation of vulnerabilities to psychological warfare, and common sense alone would suggest that a large population loss might well leave lasting vulnerabilities.

[1]By Lawrence Krader, Bureau of Social Science Research.

128 The official Soviet explanation of the Kazakh population loss serves
161 to call attention to the problems of demographic method as applied in this case. The only known reference by the Soviets to the matter of Kazakh losses is related to the development of industry in Soviet Asia. The loss of Kazakhs is laid to the growth of industry in areas neighboring on Kazakhstan, primarily the growth of industrial towns and cities in the southern Urals (Magnitogorsk, Chelyabinsk, Sverdlovsk) and in southern Siberia (Novosibirsk, the Kuzbass, etc.). This statement implies a movement of Kazakhs from their native steppes to the cities to join in industry, thereby giving up their Kazakhdom. By shifting from the steppes to the factories and mines they became Russified and were, so the implication runs, listed as Russians in the 1939 census.

This simple explanation of a seemingly complex matter immediately arouses suspicion. The official Soviet explanation addresses itself only to the growth of industry, which is a positive merit in the Soviet scheme. Hence, one wonders whether a negative fact, a possible source of embarrassment to the Soviet propagandist, is being counterbalanced by a positive fact, the growth of industry.

Investigation of the population loss revealed a complex problem which no single explanation could resolve. The Kazakhs numbered 3,968,289 in the census of December 1926, and 3,098,764 in the census of January 1939. The loss in the 13-year period was thus almost 900,000, or 22 per cent. This figure, moreover, refers only to the physical or absolute loss, and the problem is broader than that. The Kazakhs would have been reproducing themselves during that period. For an understanding of the dynamics of possible population growth, an insight may be gained from comparison with a neighboring people. The Kirgiz are Turks just as the Kazakhs are. The traditional occupation of both is the raising of herds; both are natives of Central Asia, and have been for many centuries. The Kirgiz, living under different conditions in the Soviet period, increased by some 16 per cent during the 1926-1939 period while the Kazakhs were decreasing. The Kirgiz rate of increase was about the average for the entire Soviet Union. With a similar population increase, there would have been 4,600,000 Kazakhs by 1939, instead of 3,100,000. Thus one is faced with a projected loss of about 1,500,000. It is this projected population figure which we must deal with, rather than the actual. Of this, no mention is made in the Soviet literature.

129 A fuller understanding of the Kazakh population loss was gained by an intensive examination of Kazakh history, especially in the 19th century. In the light of their past record, the reactions of the Kazakhs to the process of Sovietization became comprehensible. In this process the Kazakhs, traditionally herdsmen, were forced into collective farms and were required to perform tasks contrary to their traditions and beliefs. The population loss was traced to resistance to collectivization, with attendant mass arrests, flight across the borders, mass starvation, and death; to poor organization of collectives; and finally, to industrialization and Russification.

ANTHROPOLOGY: THE PROBLEM OF ACCULTURATION

121 The interpretation of what Sovietization means involves a broader
177 methodological problem than the Kazakh question alone. One of the writers of the report had advanced the theory that in Sovietizing a people, the leaders of the USSR were performing what may be referred to as controlled acculturation. Acculturation in anthropology refers to

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Soviet Union, that is, from a problem of historiography, important themes of psychological warfare have emerged. 127

The problem of the old native leaders has another important aspect. The leaders of the Kazakh wars of a century ago were more than princes and generals. The Kazakhs are a people who are bound together by ties of blood as well as by common political traditions. Like other peoples of this part of the world—notably the Uzbeks, the Kirgis, and the Mongols—they all trace descent from a single ancestor. From this ancestor, by painstaking genealogies over dozens of generations, the family trees are drawn, and every Kazakh knows his place on them. Thus, another anthropological approach, the method of kinship analysis, further illuminates the results of historiography.

Scorn of the old leaders is to the Kazakhs more than scorn of the national heroes. Contempt shown for George Washington to an American or for Richard the Lionhearted to an Englishman may cut deeply. But the Kazakh leaders of old are at the same time the ancestors or blood kinsmen of the present-day Kazakhs. Thus an attack on those leaders is a double insult.

AN EXAMPLE OF THE INTERDISCIPLINARY APPROACH: THE ANALYSIS OF NATIVISM AND NATIONALITY

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Reaction to conquest among subject peoples frequently takes the form of nativism. By nativism is meant a cult venerating the way of life which existed before or at the time of the conquest. The present conditions are rejected, the old way of life—however unpleasant it may have been—is glorified. The concept of nativism has been worked out in recent anthropological thinking in many parts of the world. Most recently it has been applied to Asiatic Russia, to the peoples of Siberia and Central Asia. The Kazakhs, too, have had their cult of the past, the glorification of their older way of life as a means of protest against conditions of the present. Thus investigation of nativism is intimately bound up with the historiographic problem, side by side with kinship analysis. The blood-ties with the past are of a piece with current problems of collective farm composition, which are likewise based on blood relationships. The kin-group was noted as a means of accommodation to Sovietization, but at the same time it is a great reservoir of anti-Soviet sentiment and potential disaffection.

The reaction to conquest is always a two-way stream. The problem of gauging the form and intensity of the Russian reaction, that of the conqueror, as well as that of the Kazakhs, had to be explored. The imposition of Soviet planning on the Kazakhs is part of a more general problem, applicable everywhere in the Soviet Union. In the course of the investigation the methods of labor-force analysis were brought to bear on the question of current relations between Russians and Kazakhs. The various occupations, such as farm laborer, transport worker, industrial technician, bookkeeper and accountant, manager and farm director, were rated as to degree of specialization of training required. These were then broken down into nationality composition within Kazakhstan. It was found that the Kazakhs were proportionately most heavily represented in occupations requiring little specialized training, and most poorly represented farther up the scale. This is especially true of Kazakh women.

The findings in the analysis of occupations by nationality were corroborated by the analysis of membership in the Communist Party of Kazakhstan; it was found that Moscow was especially concerned with [127]

[28 [27] the low proportion of local nationals in the Party and had repeatedly notified the local Party leadership to that effect. Again this was especially true in the women's cadres. This pattern was borne out in examination of marriage rates by nationality: The rate of Kazakh intermarriage with Russians was found to be virtually zero. Linguistics contributed also to this aspect of the investigation.

Methodologically, the inquiry into nationality proved to be most interesting inasmuch as three separate problem areas were involved, each with its own technique. Analyses of the labor force, of Party membership, and of the intermarriage rate all led to the same general conclusion that the degree of contact between the Russian and Kazakh peoples was low, and in certain places nonexistent. Again, the reluctance of either group to associate with the other was postulated; neither was more willing to do so than the other. Analysis of the urban pattern, while it did not present findings so clear-cut as those above, tended to support them. That is, there is some evidence that the different nationals live in distinct and separate sections of the various cities. All this points to a situation of poor intergroup and race relations.

DISCUSSION OF METHODS USED

To sum up the problems and methods thus far: The attention of the investigating team was focused on the Kazakhs because of a known demographic problem, a people who underwent a loss in population while the Soviet Union as a whole was gaining. The official Soviet explanation was regarded as unsatisfactory. What methods would best afford a fuller understanding of the problem, and at the same time supply background material for a general picture of the life of the Kazakhs and their accommodations and blocks to Sovietization? A number of approaches and disciplines were brought to bear on the subject: demography, economics, anthropology, sociology, and social psychology.

An interplay between all these disciplines was drawn upon. Problems posed in one discipline, such as demography, found an answer in sociology or anthropology, for instance, in the question of the population loss. A problem in sociology or anthropology concerning the nature of intergroup relations could be solved by applying the methods of labor-force analysis, and by drawing upon the findings of political science and economics. Historiography called attention to a problem in attitudes toward older heroes which could be subjected most readily to anthropological analysis. For drawing the general picture of Kazakh life, all disciplines had to be called upon.

There are inherent limitations in the methods of each of the separate disciplines. The demographic analysis could not afford insight into social tensions, although it could call attention to an area where social tensions might be found. Moreover, the data of demography supplied the basis for important measurements of relations between Slavs and Kazakhs. Possibly the most important of these measurements or indices was the marriage rate between the two peoples. A question was posed, one frequently asked by anthropologists and sociologists, regarding the composition of the family: Were there many mixed marriages? The demographic analysis made possible an answer to this question. The interpretation of the findings revealed a potential in the field of group relations for the formation of psychological warfare themes. Similarly, the historiographic method had certain limitations. Behind the question of the rewriting of history lay the changes in Soviet line, a political matter, and the changes in the Kazakh social

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order, an anthropological one. It is clear that each of the disciplines employed was needed to help the other; the limitations of each method demanded this kind of cooperation.

From one point of view, all these methods exemplify the functional approach in anthropology, which starts from the idea that every people, nation, or society is formed of parts which combine into a closely interrelated whole. The parts are determined by asking questions about political behavior, economic activity, marriage relations, and so forth, in order to establish the form of the political, economic, or family institutions. A change or a trouble spot in one of these has repercussions in all the others, just as a man who is deeply concerned with matters in his office might bring them home with him and disturb the family peace by scolding his child with unaccustomed loudness.

Sovietization has changed the political, economic, legal, and religious insitutions of the Kazakhs. These changes are presumably in accordance with a master plan of the leadership in Moscow. Of course this plan has not worked out completely, since man and his institutions are far too complicated to be mastered thoroughly, or for social behavior to be predicted except in the grossest terms. The Soviet leaders believe they have objective control because they alone have mastered the laws of history, and know in advance the direction in which societies necessarily must move. However, common sense tells us that man's culture is not so easily decreed, that the science of culture is far from perfect. Soviet leaders must fill the gap between their aims and their achievements, between collectivization in theory and in actuality, for example, by the systematic application of force to bring the resisting peasants into line. Functional analysis can show how a breakdown in one part of the whole, say a failure in the plan for collectivization, has repercussions in the rate of marriage or in Party membership. For this kind of inquiry Soviet theory is not well equipped, just as it is not equipped to answer the question of why a Kazakh herder will not take to farming.

THE LOCAL PRESS AND OTHER SOURCES

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Closely related to the considerations of methods employed in the Kazakh report is the matter of sources used. Local sources, which meant first and foremost the newspapers, were systematically explored. The local press of Kazakhstan, just as for all other parts of Central Asia and for many parts of the Soviet Union, is available in this country, with very few gaps in the various series. These newspaper files exist most fully in the Library of Congress, thus making all other cities in the country secondary to Washington as a center for this kind of investigation.

The local press, just as everywhere in the Soviet Union, has two levels of writing. On the top level, in the reports which first strike the eye, there are the articles expounding Party doctrine. These may be quickly scanned and set aside; their information content is low, and is of interest only to those who follow the evolutions of the Party line. Since this is uniform for the entire Soviet Union, little in it is relevant to the local scene.

The level below the doctrinary one has proved to be a rich source of information, for the entire life of the Kazakh republic is spread out before the investigator. With utmost frankness, the shortcomings in various fields of activity are discussed, whether in politics, economics, or elsewhere. The local press records the entire system of rewards and punishments, praise and blame, what is being built and what has failed of expectation.